

Message Text

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EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: ENRG, PFOR, JA, XF
SUBJECT: JAPANESE AIDE MEMOIRE ON MIDDLE EAST SITUATION

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF AIDE MEMOIRE GIVEN TO SECRETARY KISSINGER NOVEMBER 1 BY JAPANESE AMBASSADOR REGARDING JAPANESE VIEW OF MIDDLE EAST SITUATION. UNNECESSARY WORDS OMITTED.

2. BEGIN TEXT: GOJ STRONGLY SUPPORTS POSITIVE INITIATIVES TAKEN BY USG FOR ACHIEVING TERMINATION OF HOSTILITIES IN MIDDLE EAST THROUGH ADOPTION OF UN RESOLUTIONS FOR CEASE-FIRE AND FOR CREATION OF UN EMERGENCY FORCE. IT ALSO HIGHLY APPRECIATES USG'S PAINSAKING EFFORTS FOR SETTING NEGOTIATION IN MOTION IN SEARCH OF JUST AND DURABLE PEACE IN THAT REGION.

ON OTHER HAND, ARAB COUNTRIES ARE TAKING RATHER STRONG POSTURE DUE TO ENHANCED SELF-CONFIDENCE AND MORALE OF THEIR PEOPLES AND STRENGTHENING OF THEIR SENSE OF SOLIDARITY WITNESSED DURING RECENT FIGHTING, AND ALSO DUE TO EMERGENCE OF OIL AS NEW POLITICAL WEAPON AND TURN OF WORLD OPINION IN FAVOR OF THE ARAB CAUSE. IT IS CONCEIVABLE,
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THEREFORE, THAT ARAB COUNTRIES WILL INCREASINGLY ADHERE TO THEIR LONG-HELD CLAIM FOR COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELIS FROM TERRITORIES OCCUPIED IN WAR OF 1967. AT SAME TIME, IT ALSO CONCEIVABLE THAT ISRAEL, INCREASING ITS VIGILANCE

AGAINST ARAB COUNTRIES, MIGHT BE FURTHER INCLINED TO INSIST ON NECESSITY OF CONTINUING TO HOLD ABOVE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES FOR ITS OWN SECURITY. IN VIEW OF THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, PROSPECTS OF NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN TWO PARTIES CONCERNED APPEAR TO BE FULL OF DIFFICULTIES. FURTHERMORE, IN CASE OF IMPASSE IN NEGOTIATIONS, RENEWED AND ENHANCED PRESENCE OF SOVIET UNION IN MIDDLE EAST MIGHT ENDANGER SITUATION EVEN MORE SERIOUSLY.

GOJ IS AGAINST ANY EXPANSION OF TERRITORY BY MILITARY MEANS, AND THEREFORE CANNOT APPROVE PERPETUATION OF OCCUPATION OR ANNEXATION BY ISRAEL OF TERRITORIES OCCUPIED BY ISRAELI ARMED FORCES IN WAR OF 1967. IN VIEW OF AFORE-MENTIONED CIRCUMSTANCES, GOJ BELIEVES THAT FOR NEGOTIATIONS TO BE SUCCESSFUL, IT ESSENTIAL THAT ISRAEL RETURNS TO ARAB COUNTRIES ALL OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, EXCEPT FOR SOME MINOR RECTIFICATIONS IN BOUNDARIES TO BE AGREED UPON BY BOTH PARTIES; IN OTHER WORDS, IT ESSENTIAL THAT ISRAEL SHOULD BE READY TO ACCEPT IDEA OF ENSURING ITS SECURITY NOT BY MEANS OF ALTERATION OF ITS BOUNDARIES BUT BY OTHER MEANS SUCH AS ESTABLISHMENT OF DEMILITARIZED ZONES, STATIONING OF UNITED NATIONS FORCES, ETC.

IN CASE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN TWO PARTIES CONCERNED MAKE LITTLE PROGRESS AND MIDDLE EAST PEACE SETTLEMENT IS DELAYED, GOJ ENTERTAINS APPREHENSIONS THAT OIL PRODUCING ARAB COUNTRIES WOULD ESCALATE PRESENT POLICY OF REDUCTION OF OIL PRODUCTION, THEREBY SERIOUSLY AFFECTING JAPANESE ECONOMY, WHICH GREATLY DEPENDS ON OIL FROM THESE COUNTRIES, AS WELL AS WORLD ECONOMY IN GENERAL. ESPECIALLY, IN VIEW OF JAPAN'S IMPORT STRUCTURE OF OIL, RESTRICTIVE MEASURES PRESENTLY TAKEN BY SAUDI ARABIA AFFECT NATIONAL ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES OF JAPAN TO A DEGREE FAR GREATER THAN THEY MAY AFFECT ECONOMY OF ANY OTHER COUNTRY. IF JAPANESE PUBLIC COMES
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TO REALIZE MAGNITUDE OF SERIOUSNESS OF SITUATION, IT WOULD PRESENT A PROBLEM SERIOUS ENOUGH TO BRING ABOUT GREAT SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UNREST IN JAPAN. IT IS FROM THIS STANDPOINT THAT GOJ SINCERELY HOPES THAT USG EXERTING ITS GREAT INFLUENCE IN MIDDLE EAST, WILL CONTINUE TO MAKE SERIOUS AND EFFECTIVE EFFORTS FOR EARLY CONCLUSION OF NEGOTIATIONS-

IN LIGHT OF FACT THAT IF PRESENT SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS LEFT AS IT IS, SITUATION WILL WORSEN, WHEREBY GREATLY AFFECTING INTERESTS AND LIVELIHOOD OF NOT ONLY JAPAN BUT ALSO OF REST OF FREE COUNTRIES, GOJ IS PREPARED TO MAKE ANY APPROPRIATE CONTRIBUTION IF THERE

IS ANY ROOM FOR JAPAN TO PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF THE MIDEAST CONFLICT.

IN THIS CONNECTION, IT MAY BE ADDED THAT GOJ HAS STRICTLY MAINTAINED POLICY OF PROHIBITING EXPORT OF ARMS TO BELLIGERENT AREAS AND HAS NOT SUPPLIED ARMS TO ANY OF COUNTRIES INVOLVED IN RECENT HOSTILITIES.

IN VIEW OF IMPORTANCE OF THIS PROBLEM FOR BOTH JAPAN AND US, GOJ WISHES THAT USG WILL KEEP JAPAN IN CLOSE COMMUNICATION ON THIS MATTER. GOJ MAY FURTHER CLARIFY ITS POSITION ON MIDDLE EAST PEACE SETTLEMENT AS OCCASION DEMANDS, AND WISHES TO CONSULT CLOSELY WITH THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IN SUCH A SITUATION. END TEXT.

3. SUMMARY OF ENSUING CONVERSATION BEING REPORTED SEPARATELY. KISSINGER

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